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Struggle for the State Department

—Francis J. Keenan

THE

Commonweal

A CATHOLIC PARTY LINE?

Catholics are quite free to make up their own minds about Senator McCarthy. The Church itself takes no position on such questions.

by E. Harold Smith

Volume LIX, No. 26 April 2, 1954 Twenty Cents

[Contains Index to Volume LIX]

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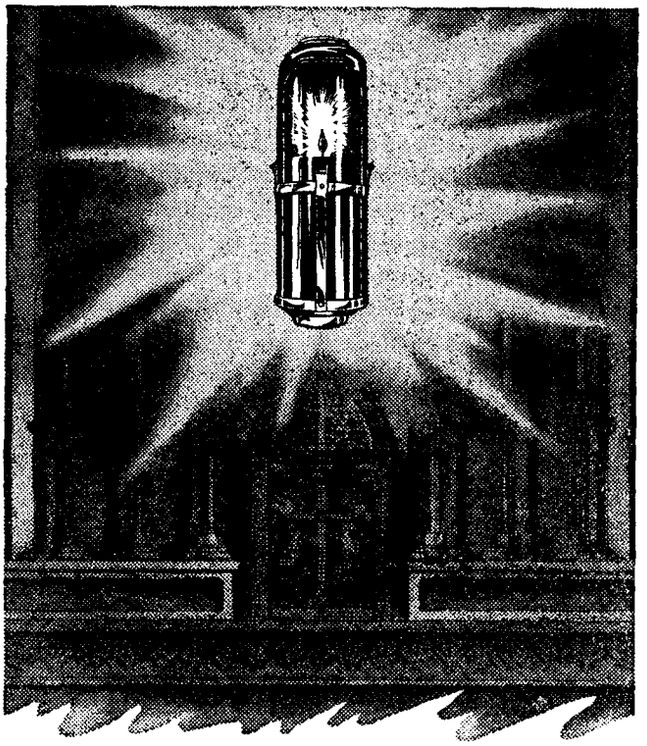

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THE

Commonweal

week by week

CATHOLICS, NON-CATHOLICS, AND SENATOR McCARTHY

WE consider Senator McCarthy a problem—a fact which will come as surprise to none of our readers, since we have made our feelings on this point clear often enough. But the editors of this magazine have always tried to make it clear that if we consider Senator McCarthy a problem, we do not think of him as a specifically Catholic problem. Catholics necessarily played a small part in his election; only a minority of the voters in Wisconsin are Catholics. And support for Senator McCarthy cuts across religious lines, just as it does across political party affiliations.

Despite such facts many non-Catholics have long feared that Senator McCarthy is actually the political tool of the Catholic Church in this country, and in recent months this fear has been growing. On a few occasions recently these fears have been publicly stated; more often they form a kind of undercurrent to any discussion of Senator McCarthy and his doings. Recently Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell spelled the issue out. Reminding his listeners that he himself is a Catholic, Mr. Mitchell expressed his deep regret "that many non-Catholics have come to feel that my co-religionists are in the forefront of those who would sacrifice methods to objectives." To illustrate his point he cited recent remarks by Protestant ministers, among them a high-ranking Protestant clergyman who had said that the most noted of the anti-Communist crusaders of the damn-the-methods type was "a member of the Church that has never disavowed the Inquisition, that makes a policy of censorship, that insists on uniformity." Mr. Mitchell continued: "I am sure you can identify the crusader. And may I say that I personally resent the transfer of his reputation to that of my Church."

We need hardly say that we, like Mr. Mitchell, resent the transfer of Senator McCarthy's reputation to our Church. But we also think it is time, and more than time, for certain Catholics in places of authority and influence to take careful stock of their own position in this matter. The thesis expressed by Father Smith in his article in this issue is, we think, unassailable—so much so, in fact, that we doubt that any responsible person could be found to deny it. In theory, at least, there is no "Catholic" position on matters of prudential political wisdom like the McCarthy issue. Here, no one can speak for the Church; the Church has no position on such matters, because of their very nature, these issues permit no single "Catholic" position.

Yet though Father Smith's thesis is unassailable, the apprehensions of the non-Catholic community on this matter did not come out of thin air. They have some basis in fact, if not in theory.

ACCORDING to the Gallup poll findings released in January, fifty-eight per cent of American Catholics are favorable to Senator McCarthy, as compared with forty-nine per cent of American Protestants. This adds up to a difference between the two groups of only nine per cent, and bears out, we think, our contention that support for Senator McCarthy, as well as opposition to him, cuts across religious lines. But non-Catholics are not worrying about the relatively insignificant fact that nine per cent more Catholics favor Senator McCarthy than Protestants. Rather it is the fact that pro-McCarthy sentiments predominate among Catholics who are articulate, Catholics whose speeches at Communion breakfasts are reported in the press, Catholics who write for the "official" Catholic press, Catholics who are the officers of various lay groups and organizations.

Protestants know that in some Catholic circles being pro-McCarthy is somehow considered a test, if not of faith, at least of loyalty to the Church. Distinguished Catholic voices have been raised against Senator McCarthy, like that of Monsignor Higgins of NCWC, but these are exceptions. The near-unanimity of public pronouncements by Catholics, and, even more importantly, the attitude taken toward anti-McCarthy opinion by such Catholic spokesmen, have rather understandably given non-Catholics the impression of a massive Catho-

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lic political bloc, solidly lined up behind the Senator from Wisconsin.

This, in our view, is regrettable, and it should be recognized as such by all responsible Catholics whether they are for or against Senator McCarthy. There are always overzealous persons who like nothing better than creating new mortal sins, expanding the area of belief beyond the bounds set by the Chuch, and making uniformity on non-essentials a mark of the true Church. When this mentality is applied to day-to-day political happenings, a seriously false impression of the Church is given.

We would hate to see the Church identified with the Democratic party or with any political group in this country. By the same token, we do not want to see the Church forced into a shotgun wedding with the far-right wing of the Republican party. Those who are giving non-Catholics the impression that the match is inevitable are, we think, making a serious mistake. In the process they are doing the Church no service.

THE TAX BATTLE

WHEN the Administration's omnibus tax bill was being drawn up, it was not aimed particularly at curbing a recession. It was to supply the first major revision of the national tax structure in half a century. It was, among many other things, to take business-like government economies into account and to cut taxes. It was to make these cuts in such a way as to aid American business—to make investment more attractive to the individual citizen and to stimulate business expansion. This was, in turn, to benefit Americans generally.

The debate on the tax issue, however, comes at a moment of growing anxiety over the possibility of a depression. The Administration therefore finds itself having to defend certain key provisions on the grounds of their efficacy in turning the tide against impending depression. And from such an angle the Democrats have the better argument.

Now, as on prior occasions when this basic argument has arisen, there is no lack of immense desire for goods and services. The copywriters have seen to that. The number of citizens who want new homes, new cars, new TV sets and kitchen equipment, new clothes and many other things is legion. What is lacking is the purchasing power to satisfy many of these desires. The Democratic proposal of increasing income tax exemptions by one hundred or two hundred dollars per person would put money in the hands of several times as many American families as the Republican plan that has passed the House. For the latter's tax relief on dividends would have reference to less than ten per cent of the population.

Moreover, it is evident that American business is not being held back by lack of the capital required to finance expansion nearly as much as by a dip in effective consumer demand. If the "accelerated depreciation write-offs" in the Administration bill do provide industry with incentives to modernize and expand productive capacity, such incentive is of limited effect when demand is shrinking. Business revival can have no sounder basis than steadily increasing demand for the products of industry.

Once this is said, however, certain drawbacks to the Democratic proposal must be faced. Leaving more money in everybody's pockets is a very tempting device; it is hard for political leaders to judge it on its merits because of its vote-getting potentialities in an election year. And there are limits to the extent to which government revenues should be cut at this critical stage in the defense of the West. The nation should also think twice before adopting a provision that would remove some four and one half million American families from the income tax rolls altogether.

The present state of the national economy seems to call for considerable tax relief. At least the time has come to give this method of priming the pump an adequate trial. Perhaps there is a third means which is feasible for attacking the problem. One approach would be a further reduction in the overall rate of taxation on income from whatever source. This could be graduated in such a way that those

NEXT WEEK

WILLIAM PFAFF writes about the tug-of-war between straight reporting and interpretation in the mass communications media.

"Government officials cannot make modern crises any less complex than they actually are; they may attempt to turn a logarithmic equation into a slogan, but in reality it remains a logarithmic equation. So the responsibility falls on the news reporter. He has become the public eye without which there is darkness. The latest media of the news, radio and television reporting, have several special characteristics which include immediacy (the newspaper 'extra' has all but disappeared) and impermanency. The consequences are that radio and television news tends to be simple, frequently superficial. . . ."

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best able to pay would continue to contribute at higher rates, while wage-earners in general would still pay some income taxes and continue to keep an eye on where their money went.

DEATH IN PALESTINE

LAST October, fifty-three Arabs, mostly women and children, were slaughtered during a raid on the Jordan village of Kibya. The civilized world was properly shocked by the incident. The UN official report described the massacre as "cold-blooded murder" and identified the "murderers" as Israeli troops. Our own State Department condemned the outrage in solemn terms.

Now, less than half a year later, a similar mass killing has taken place in Israel. An Israeli bus was ambushed early this month by a small group of unidentified Arabs. Eleven persons, including helpless women and children, were killed—more "cold-blooded murder."

Unless shameful incidents like these are to become commonplace in tense Palestine, responsible officials must take action against those who carry them out. It is to be hoped that Arab officials will make a sincere effort to find and punish those responsible for the bus killings. Israeli authorities, in turn, can prove their own concern by stating what steps have been taken to apprehend and punish those responsible for the Kibya slaughter. Until the Arab marauders are identified and responsibility placed, neither the UN nor the U.S. can censure any Arab government, but unquestionably this latest outrage is as censurable as the Kibya affair.

H-BOMB AND "NEW LOOK"

THE blossoming, man-eating white cloud which shot seventeen miles into the Southern Pacific skies last March first provided an illustration of just what was being debated in Washington's "New Look" defense discussions.

The hydrogen explosion which caused the cloud was conservatively estimated to be two hundred and fifty times greater than the explosion at Hiroshima. (Re-read Hersey's *Hiroshima* and multiply.) It was too great for the instruments which were to have measured it; it shook buildings on Kwajalein, one hundred and seventy-six miles from the detonation point; it exposed twenty-eight Americans and two hundred and thirty-six residents of a supposedly safe island to radiation; most terrible of all, it inflicted radioactivity burns on twenty-three Japanese fishermen, sending them to the hospital, and sending through Japan a shock partly of fear of eating some of the contaminated catch of the *Fukruyu Maru,* partly of the remembered horror of the last fiery days of the war. The canard, spread throughout Asia by the Communists, that Americans count Asian life cheap and deliberately used the atom bomb on them rather than on Caucasians, takes on new propaganda force.

The individual sufferings of the fishermen, the monstrous size of the explosion—both lent meaning to the discussion in Washington. There, once again, it was a case of the Administration's addiction to psychological warfare getting it into trouble. According to testimony before a Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, the "New Look" is a revision but not in any sense a revolution in our strategy.

General Ridgway made it clear that the Army was not happy over the reduction in ground forces, but in spite of his reservations, it was possible to conclude that the strategy was a logical working-out of certain premises, one of which is that at this particular time a reduction in the budget is worth a slightly increased military risk. Budget-reduction was a principle of the Republican campaign, and its application now is consistent enough.

At his press conference, the President made the most convincing case for the new program, and he did it by dropping the exaggerated claims of the past, and saying with great feeling: "All that 'New Look' is is an attempt by intelligent people to keep abreast of the times. . . . we are striving our best to meet the grave responsibilities that are placed upon people whose job is to protect this country."

The newest development in the hydrogen bomb had a certain ominous echo in the fact that if our bomb is so enormously powerful (and a larger one yet is said to be available—some question the safety of even testing it), the Soviets have the ability to attack us with weapons of comparable power.

And the conclusion must be that we cannot initiate its use. We can prepare to defend ourselves against this kind of war (in military planning we must, as Mr. Eisenhower said, take into account what a pair of atomic bombs would have done to the Normandy beachhead), but we cannot so reorganize and reduce our conventional forces that we might put ourselves in a spot where we could be forced into nuclear war.

Because of current interest in the subject of Father E. Harold Smith's "A Catholic Party Line?", his article is featured in this issue in place of the article by Marshall McLuhan which was announced last week. Mr. McLuhan's discussion of certain aspects of popular communications will appear next week.

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LET'S HAVE A DEBATE

IN some ways we Americans are more tolerant than we used to be. I think, for instance, that there is less racial bias among us—especially among the young. Not that the battle for equality is over, but nowadays most of us are at least conscious of the fact that there is such a thing as prejudice, that we are all more or less subject to it, and that it is not a very pretty personality trait. That marks a long step. And there is clear-cut evidence of steady improvement. When I was growing up, for example, it was the rare Catholic academy or college which accepted Negro students; today, the very opposite is true.

There is less anti-Semitism at large, too, according to the Jewish agencies which watch the ebb and flow of such prejudice. It is generally recognized that there is also less anti-Catholicism of the old-fashioned Ku Klux Klan variety—though I think there is much to be said for Peter Viereck's quip that today anti-Catholicism is the anti-Semitism of the liberals.

Certainly many selfless and brave efforts were made to counteract group-prejudice of all kinds. It was not always a very popular cause to fight our native racism and religious bigotry. But it has grown progressively more respectable year by year. Today, everything from spot announcements on the radio to highly proper sermons in fashionable churches are tried—and with marked success. And as educational standards increase, group-prejudice inevitably decreases.

But this is only one aspect of the American struggle for tolerance. In other areas, where opinion is involved, I think we are almost visibly growing less tolerant every day. It seems at times that mere communication between large groups of Americans is becoming ever more difficult, if not downright impossible. And when Americans can no longer talk to each other about the great issues facing all of us, democracy as a living thing in our lives will be dead. We seem to be getting closer to that stage all the time. Political debate is absolutely essential to political freedom, and though this is an era of widely ballyhooed polemics (with TV panels, radio roundtables and all kinds of controversies raging in the press) still the political atmosphere is so clogged with charges, recriminations, evasions, braggadocio and the wholesale imputation of unworthy motives that true debate is practically impossible.

Moreover, the poisoning of the political atmosphere seems to have spread and is contaminating religious and cultural exchange as well. I remember the fine polemics carried on by hardy old warriors like G. B. Shaw and G. K. Chesterton. No two men could have differed more profoundly, yet they remained personal friends; neither ever accused the other of anything more damning or personal than of having woven a faulty syllogism. Nowadays polemics of that kind seem to be dead. Even in the literary quarterlies, controversy is often clothed in embittered, highly personal terms. One egghead snidely accuses another of having worked for Henry Luce, or of some similarly shameful deed, and the other comes right back with a charge that Egghead No. 1 secretly supports Senator McCarthy. All this in an exchange about the state of modern writing!

Religious controversy is usually equally bitter. When the doctrine of the Assumption was defined, for instance, how many clear-cut attacks were there on the theological validity of the doctrine itself? Very few. Most of the comment was insulting and took the form of denouncing "Vatican thought-control" or of arbitrarily excommunicating from the modern scientific world all who gave their allegiance to the ancient dogma.

Even among Catholics themselves, the jaundiced spirit of the day seems to have had lamentable effects. On this page a few weeks ago, I cited chapter and verse of various cruel (and public) things that have been said recently about those wayward creatures, the "liberal" Catholics. They don't try hard enough to save their souls . . . they are indifferent to the very reason for which they were created . . . they are "religious go-getters," etc., etc. The issues about which we need an exchange of opinion (the role of the State in censorship, for instance, or the validity of miscegenation as part of the *verboten* in the present Hollywood Production Code) get buried under charges of personal disloyalty and dubious motivation like this. Again, those outside the Church who agree with the Supreme Court's interpretation of the law of the land have often been airily accused of wanting to corrupt youth and encourage immorality.

But it is the American political atmosphere, above all, that is poisoned today. When Adlai Stevenson first burst on the political horizon, he spoke bravely and hopefully of carrying on a responsible debate with the opposition. The poor man is still trying. A few weeks ago, for instance, he introduced the question of the "New Look" in national defense. Is it good or bad? Mr. Nixon was on the TV screens a week later "answering" Mr. Stevenson. Does Mr. Stevenson believe, the Vice President asked, that the Korean war should not have been won? Does he think the Soviet Union should not be held responsible for the aggressions carried out by its satellites? Etc., etc. Mr. Stevenson, and some of the rest of us, would still like to discuss the "New Look." But responsible debate seems to be disappearing from our national life. The "twenty-years-of-treason" approach is ever more triumphant.

JOHN COGLEY.

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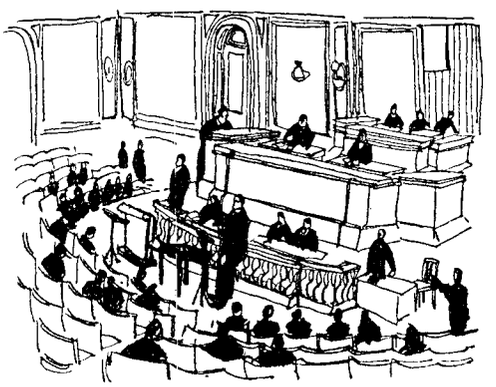
A Catholic Party Line?

"ONE DOES NOT BECOME LESS CATHOLIC OR MORE CATHOLIC BY BEING FOR OR AGAINST CERTAIN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES OR INVESTIGATING METHODS."

E. HAROLD SMITH

AMERICANS are concerned today, and with good reason, about the fate of freedom, not only in the world at large but in the United States. Many Catholics share this general concern. In a recent issue of the Boston *Pilot,* Catholic weekly of the Archdiocese of Boston, Father George W. Casey wrote as follows: "We seem to be getting tired of freedom. We seem all but ready to give up on the proud American constitutional guarantees of individual rights and liberties. We are developing more enthusiasm for the restriction of freedom than we are for its extension. . . . Fear is warping our national personality. . . The people who are clamoring to narrow these liberties are not shutting Communism out. They are succumbing to it from within. They are flattering its whole apparatus by imitation. They are lessening the distance between us. . . . Freedom is our most important asset." Father Casey has sounded a timely warning but his is not a lone voice.



Anne O'Hare McCormick, one of the best informed political commentators writing today, in her column in the Feb. 27 issue of The New York *Times* concluded with this paragraph: "But for the moment no one is attending to the lessons from Berlin, though it is plain that our policy-makers are more certain of their course than they were before. Explanations of the decision on Geneva are lost in the clamor over the Stevens-McCarthy dispute. The conclusion is inescapable that we shall not be able to muster our full power to fight Communism on the world front until we repudiate the demagogic method of dealing with it at home."

Again, on March 6, Mrs. McCormick wrote as follows: "So far they have not considered the effect of a defiant McCarthyism on American leadership. We are sensitive to foreign criticism and outraged when the nations we assist impute selfish motives to altruistic measures. Even more we resent criticisms implying that our form of government and way of life are not a model for the world. But we incline to brush aside the doubts raised by stories of the McCarthy case. We may be sure that the Western press makes the most of the Senator's challenge to the Executive branch of the Government, and that this challenge serves to undermine the moral authority of the United States. At a time when our influence is felt from Caracas to Hanoi, and from Berlin to Cadiz, this itself is a high price to pay for the ambitions of a Senator."

Jerome G. Kerwin, a distinguished Catholic scholar whose name has long been associated with a variety of Catholic activities on the campus of the University of Chicago, delivered the commencement address at the Catholic University of America on June 9, 1953. "A Plea for Caution" was the title under which Professor Kerwin spoke. "In this confusion we have a right to expect of our university and college graduates that they keep their heads," Professor Kerwin offered as his concluding remarks. "If their education has meant what it should mean to them, they should remember that the chief virtue in politics is prudence, and that calm objectivity and cool judgment are marks of an educated citizen. We should expect that they keep constantly before them the truth that desired ends attained by improper means will eventually undermine the foundations of the state.

"We have a right to expect that they will not join popular crusades of condemnation and recrimination and that they will keep in mind the spirit of fair play and decency that has made this nation honored. We have a right to ask the graduates of Catholic schools that a spirit of Christian charity guide them in their judgment of fellow-citizens and they speak out boldly against any group or person that would spread unfounded suspicion and distrust throughout this land.

Father Smith is a priest of the Archdiocese of New York. He is an assistant pastor of Corpus Christi parish in Manhattan.

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We have a right to ask them as Americans to remember the struggle of men through the centuries for the freedoms that we so happily enjoy and can so easily destroy."

On May 15 of last year, former Ambassador George F. Kennan delivered a remarkable address at the University of Notre Dame. Mr. Kennan is not a Catholic but the address was delivered under the auspices of a great and influential Catholic university and included the following paragraphs: "I cannot forget that there are forces at large in our society today that do not inspire me with this same feeling [that is, with the feeling of reassurance]—quite the contrary. These forces are too diffuse to be described by their association with the name of any one man or any one political concept. They have no distinct organizational forms. They are as yet largely matters of the mind and the emotion in large masses of individuals. But they all march, in one way or another, under the banner of an alarmed and exercised anti-Communism—but an anti-Communism of a quite special variety, bearing an air of excited discovery and proprietorship, as though no one had ever known before that there was a Communist danger, as though no one had ever thought about it and taken its measure, as though it had all begun about the year 1945 and these people were the first to learn of it.

"I have no quarrel to pick with the ostensible purposes of the people in whom these forces are manifest. Surely, many of them are sincere. Surely, many of them are good people. Surely, many of them have come to these views under real provocation and out of real bewilderment. But I have the deepest misgivings about the direction and effects of their efforts.

"In general, I feel that what they are doing is unwise and unfortunate, and I am against it. They distort and exaggerate the dimensions of the problem with which they profess to deal. They confuse internal and external aspects of the Communist threat. They insist on portraying as contemporary realities things that had their actuality years ago. They insist on ascribing to the workings of domestic Communism evils and frustrations which, in so far as they were not part of the normal and unavoidable burden of complexity in our life, were the product of our behavior generally as a nation, and should today be the subject of humble and contrite soul-searching on the part of all of us, in a spirit of brotherhood and community, rather than of frantic and bitter recrimination. And having thus incorrectly stated the problem, it is no wonder that these people consistently find the wrong answers.

"They tell us to remove our eyes from the constructive and positive purposes and to pursue with fanaticism the negative and vindictive ones. They sow timidity where there should be boldness; fear where there should be serenity; suspicion where there should be confidence and generosity. In this way they impel us—in the name of salvation from the dangers of Communism—to many of the habits of thought and action which our Soviet adversaries, I am sure, would most like to see us adopt and which they have tried unsuccessfully over a period of some thirty-five years to graft upon us through the operations of their Communist party."

THERE were Catholics who foresaw the state to which certain Congressional investigating committees would bring us. In the spring of 1950 (the McCarthy investigations had been launched only a few months previously) Monsignor George G. Higgins, assistant director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference for the past ten years (who writes a syndicated column "The Yardstick" which appears in many diocesan weeklies), wrote a column "Let's Not Be Used." In the course of his remarks Monsignor Higgins predicted: "The McCarthy investigation may prove to be a very long and very miserable journey for all of us and may very well end up in the swamps of national disunity. . . .

"We ourselves repudiate the suggestion that Catholics are somehow compelled to follow a 'party line' in choosing the means to counteract Communism. The time has come, in other words, to expose the insulting myth—which is being circulated even by some Catholics, perhaps for political reasons—that Catholics as a group are behind the McCarthy investigation. . . .

"This is a falsehood pure and simple. Catholics, of course, are unanimously opposed to Communism—many of them in other countries even to the point of martyrdom. But American Catholics are not thereby committed to any particular politician or to either political party. They are free to make up their own minds about the McCarthy investigation.

"Many Catholics—including the present writer—have concluded that the investigation has degenerated into a fiasco which in the long run will do the country much more harm than good; they have concluded, too, that it represents the worst possible way of accomplishing its announced objective: the safeguarding of national security. Other Catholics, to be sure, have concluded differently and are therefore siding with McCarthy in the current controversy.

"So be it. But let it not be said any longer either by the friends or enemies of the Church that Catholics are unitedly and, as it were, necessarily behind McCarthy. They are not. Catholics as a group do not have a fixation which drives them willy nilly into the corner of every public figure who opposes Communism. They make up their own minds to be either for McCarthy or against him. In either case, the reasons for their choice are their own and not to be attributed either directly or indirectly to the Catholic Church as such."

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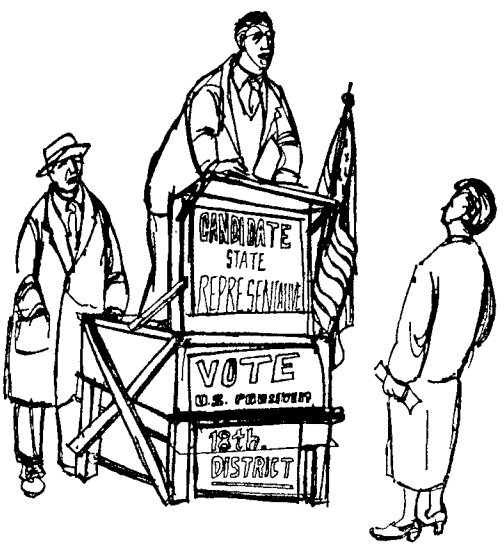
On August 11, 1913, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at a mass meeting of the Twelfth Annual National Convention of the Federation of American Catholic Societies, Archbishop John J. Ireland, of St. Paul, Minnesota, gave public profession of the manner in which he and his fellow Catholics approach questions of civic and political import. He declared: "It is a calumny that we deeply resent, to say that in civic and political matters Catholic voters are under the influence of the Church. Priests and bishops do not dictate the politics of Catholics; if they strove to do so their interference would be promptly repulsed. It is of public knowledge that the Catholic vote is distributed among the several political parties of the country. To speak of myself, privately and publicly as a citizen, I give my allegiance to a particular party. Do I dare preach from my pulpit the tenets of that party to the discredit of another? Do I dare allow that, if heeded at all by others, my choice of a ballot should or could receive



other attention than that due to its civic and political merit? As a matter of fact legions of Catholic voters in America believe me hopelessly wrong in politics. As a citizen I may regret that my political influence is not wider; as a Catholic I am glad of the independence of the citizenship of America."

Monsignor Higgins, Father Casey, Mrs. McCormick and Professor Kerwin, to cite only these among the many who might be named, are carrying on in the present controversy in an authentic American Catholic tradition. This should be no surprise to anyone truly acquainted with the history of the Church in this country. The United States has never been without Catholic voices, and influential Catholic voices, when civic rights were in jeopardy or unproved charges made.

IN 1902 Governor Altgeld died in Illinois. Altgeld possessed elements of greatness. He was, however, regarded with suspicion by not a few Americans of his day. Some called him an anarchist. In recent years, the Communists have attempted to claim him. He was not, of course, a Communist, nor would be have had the least sympathy with them. Still it cannot be denied that many of his fellow citizens could not make up their minds about him. When a memorial meeting was held after his death, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding was invited to make the principal address and accepted. He closed with these words: "I salute with admiration, respect and reverence the memory of a genuine and heroic man—the true servant of the people and the most disinterested politician Illinois has known since Lincoln died."

It is quite true that some, perhaps many, of Bishop Spalding's brethren in the episcopate did not view Governor Altgeld in the same favorable manner. This is not the point. The Bishop of Peoria found no reason in his Catholic faith not to laud Altgeld. If others thought differently, they were free to do so.

Early in the year 1920 five Socialists were expelled from the lower house of the New York Legislature. They represented districts in New York City. Inasmuch as a legislative body is constitutionally empowered to keep out or throw out any elected member for any reason or for no reason, the action of the New York legislature in this case was not illegal. It was merely extra-legal and arbitrary. Monsignor John A. Ryan, distinguished theologian and economist, protested the expulsion, not because he believed these men should be in the legislature but because he would not accept the manner in which they were expelled.

He wrote: "My whole objection to the action of the assembly is, therefore, against the method and the procedure rather than the results. I do not believe that the end justifies the means. The question of method is fundamental. It underlies all our Constitutional guarantees of individual liberty, all our Bill of Rights: a benevolent and wise despot may sometimes disregard these forms and guarantees without serious injustice to individuals or the community; but we do not want to take the risk of giving such power to any man or any group of men even to a legislative body. We feel safer when we know that the legislative body attains a given end by observing the approved forms of law by taking the responsibility of enacting a general statute, instead of dealing arbitrarily with a particular instance. This is the lesson of long and bitter experience."

The bill to outlaw the Socialist Party was one of a series of six vetoed by Governor Alfred E. Smith. This bill originated with the same legislative committee which had brought about the expulsion of the five Socialist members. It should be noted here that there was considerable support on the part of the Catholics in New York for Speaker Sweet in his attempt to throw the Socialists out of the Assembly.

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When the Mundt bill (requiring all Communists to register, etc.) was pending, the late Bishop Francis J. Haas sent the following telegram to Rep. Mary T. Norton: "The bill contradicts itself. While it professes to combat totalitarian dictatorship, it gives the federal government such arbitrary powers over personal freedom as to make the government in effect a totalitarian dictatorship." Bishop Haas emphasized that Communism is an evil to be removed but said "that the slower but surer methods of reason and Christian regard for others" should be the means by which the removal be effected.

Let it not be asserted, moreover, that Bishops Spalding and Haas, Monsignor Ryan and Governor Smith did not represent in their day main-line Catholicity, and by the same token Catholics who are anti-McCarthy today, do not either. This is a gratuitous assertion, and betrays at least an unconscious bias against the Catholic Church. In the words of Archbishop Ireland in answer to the charge of Church domination in politics: "It is a calumny that we deeply resent." One does not become less Catholic or more Catholic by taking the positions the above-named persons took, nor today by being for or against certain Congressional committees or investigating methods. This writer is quite willing to acknowledge though that too frequently some papers published under Catholic auspices by implication lead the unwary reader to think there are in these matters certain positions that Catholics must necessarily take.

IT is an interesting phenomenon of history that the tendency to cover civic and political questions with the mantle of religious authority is considerably less pronounced in Latin countries where there was a union of Church and State for many years and in which Protestantism has never been dominant than in the non-Latin countries in general. Don Luigi Sturzo, priest, scholar and statesman, recently rendered a service to Italy that probably no other living man could have rendered. If the island of Sicily does not produce a comparable son for a hundred years, its citizens will nevertheless have valid grounds for pride in the memory of the name and labors of this great priest and statesman.

Some years ago Don Sturzo wrote a brief statement entitled "The Margin of Freedom in the Catholic Church." It deserves to be more widely known. It is as follows:

"Within the Catholic Church there is a margin of freedom large or small according to circumstances which, moving from purely religious forms to social and temporal activities, quite often permits the emergence of truly autonomous movements, especially in politics.

"An example taken from actual recent events may illustrate this point to those who, being outside the discipline of the Church, believe or surmise, that the Church is a kind of militant army in which only the will of the supreme head prevails. In his speech of September 1, 1944, Pope Pius XII reasserted two points of Catholic doctrine: that private property is in the sphere of natural law, and hence cannot be abolished; and that the social duties which flow from the very nature of property transcend the private good and must aim at the common good. This is the doctrine. In the process of applying it to the conditions of each country the bishops will perhaps issue certain guiding statements, the philosophers will discuss the ethical implications of the doctrine, the economists will examine the practical consequences of its application, the sociologists will inquire into its social effects, the jurists will frame possible legislation and the statesmen, finally, will undertake to reconcile the various issues which have thereby been raised with questions of public policy and party politics, and with the circumstances of the moment.

"Plainly, such a process cannot be described in terms of soldiers carrying out the orders of their commander-in-chief, and still less in terms of the mechanical application of a fixed slogan. We are dealing with men who think and act, who bring to bear the fruit of their own minds and consciences. Even if they all agree on the desirability of carrying out the teachings of the Pope, they will differ about the means to be employed, the time that action should be taken, the limits of the program and so on. A vast amount of human effort and personal responsibility is mobilized to translate a doctrine into a concrete program and the 'margin of freedom' increases in direct relationship to the distance which separates the statement of the general principle from its final execution."

IN reference to the current Congressional investigations it may be useful to make a few observations. Fortunately at the present time many persons have been aroused by the dangers the present methods hold in store for our country. The problem, however, is one which the citizens of the U.S. must solve; it is no sense a Catholic problem. Senator McCarthy is a Catholic, but he was not overwhelmingly elected by Catholic votes nor does he owe his present power and position to Catholic influence or pressure. It may be said that many Catholics are supporting him unreservedly or with reservations. This is true, but so are many non-Catholics supporting him. Even if a majority of persons in this country were willing to accept the present type of investigations it would not make them one whit more decent. We are so accustomed to bow to the will of majorities that we easily forget that votes count for

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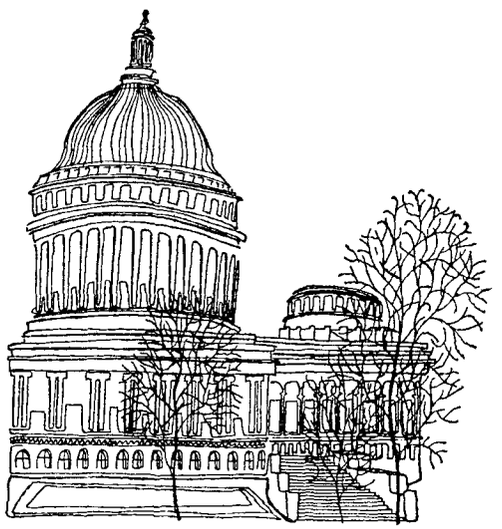
nothing when we have to consider what is true and wise and just.

Secondly, all the fuzzy and emotional appeals have not come from the pro-McCarthy side. In addition, the ineptitude of the forces on the opposite side has been at times pathetic. These facts can account in part for the silence of persons, Catholic and non-Catholic, who nevertheless are unwilling to countenance the tactics employed in the investigations. Nor must it be forgotten as far as Catholics are concerned that just as it is impossible to regiment us on the side of McCarthy, it is likewise impossible to regiment us on the opposite side on the basis of our religious beliefs. Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. in a recent article sounded a very useful warning to those he termed 'liberals,' who are disturbed about the number of Catholics supporting the Wisconsin Senator. He stated that few things could aid McCarthy more than the false assumption on the part of



McCarthy's non-Catholic critics that "the American Catholic community is disciplined and monolithic in its political sentiments and that Joe McCarthy is its prophet."

Persons who oppose the continuation of the present methods of investigations by certain Congressional committees can be assured of a good measure of Catholic support. The number of supporters, moreover, will increase if and when the situation is adequately and fairly presented to the country at large. In addition there is a Catholic core of clergy and laymen that has been unalterably opposed to the Wisconsin Senator's methods from the very beginning. These men and women are justly proud of their Catholic inheritance, and have no intention of dipping their colors or muting their drums. Let others who share their general civic and social views but not their faith have no fears for them. Their support can be counted upon in times like the present. They do not have any less freedom to speak and act because of their Catholic faith.

FROM WASHINGTON

Struggle for the State Department

FRANCIS J. KEENAN

THE maxim that government is only as good as its administration may now be proving itself once again, this time in the State Department and at the possible expense of John Foster Dulles.

The issue revolves about the recent decision of the Civil Service Commission, at the insistence of R. W. Scott McLeod, the Department's security chief, to transfer the jobs in the State Department Security Office out of the classified civil service into the "Schedule A" category of excepted positions. This amounts to stripping most of these employees of their job protection rights and reducing them to dependence on McLeod's personal authority and unchecked whims. He now may fire most of them at will and hire additional security personnel without recourse to civil service or to the standards and qualifications established for security officers by the Civil Service Commission.

There is a strongly ironic element to this situation. McLeod's increased personal control over the State Department's Security Office, which is the inevitable result of the CSC decision, comes at a time when Secretary Dulles and the Administration had begun successfully to restrain and counter Mr. McLeod. Announcement of the Commission's approval of McLeod's transfer plan followed by two days a long-planned move by Mr. Dulles which stripped McLeod of his jurisdiction over personnel affairs.

This action, known to have been carefully studied and well considered, and which has been heartily applauded, placed personnel matters under the control of Assistant Secretary Edward Wailes, and moved Assistant Secretary Thruston B. Morton into the position vacated by Mr. Lourie, as acting Undersecretary for Administration. The question now is presented whether Messrs. Wailes and Morton, both highly qualified and greatly respected, can cope effectively with McLeod's strengthened hold over security affairs—especially in view of the wide latitude given security programs under President Eisenhower's April '53 Federal Security Program.

The significance of this matter emerges from consideration of these additional factors:

(1) According to the reluctant admission of CSC Chairman Philip Young before the Senate Post Office

Mr. Keenan is a former Republican member of the staff of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

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and Civil Service Committee, final determination of the subversive character of employees is made by security officers—in spite of any subsequent decisions concerning the employees' job status. Therefore, everything depends on the caliber, ability, objectivity, experience and understanding of the security officer, and on the standards set up and administered by an agency's security chief.

(2) By removing civil service job protection rights from those experienced security officers now in the State Department, and by taking in new officers without regard to the high standards and qualifications promulgated by the Commission, security personnel will be forced more tightly into McLeod's own mold.

(3) On the basis of McLeod's record, the pattern he has set for State Department security is characterized by extreme political partisanship and by the use of questionable security methods, not excluding threat and intimidation and a more widespread use of lie-detector tests.

(4) No area of an employee's personal and professional life is more sensitive than his security record. To do justice to the demands of security as well as to consider problems of morale and of individual rights requires a high degree of objectivity, of caution and of fairness in the conduct of a security program.

IN his one year on the job, McLeod has been quite candid in defining his approach to security in the State Department. In a speech last August, he bemoaned the fact that veterans' preference and civil service regulations prevented him from getting rid of certain employees whose "viewpoints" did not coincide with those of the Republican Party. And his five-speech tour of the political circuit on behalf of the Republican National Committee in February underlined his belief that loyalty and security are the monopoly of his brand of Republicanism.

McLeod's approach to the job of transferring security office positions to Schedule A may reflect his ultimate purposes, or at least indicate some of the results. According to a story in the Washington *Star,* McLeod called a meeting of his colleagues and explained that he wanted the positions placed in Schedule A "so that I can hire or fire whoever I want without regard to civil service." He was quoted further, "I'm not discouraged by the fact that the Commission turned me down twice. I'm going to keep trying until they see it my way."

This the Commission has now done.

The *Star* story added that at least fifteen or twenty veteran investigators have quit to take new jobs. And it reported the obvious: that morale in the security office dropped to a low ebb.

Mr. Dulles has displayed an obvious distaste for the details of Department operations. He has neglected the maxim that good government is good administration, preferring to devote all his time to matters of highest policy. In fact, at one time he even hoped to move his own offices into the old State Department building which now houses the Executive Offices of the President. This abdication by Secretary Dulles gave Undersecretary Lourie, the man directly responsible for bringing McLeod into the Department, almost unrestricted freedom in administrative matters, and he, in turn, turned over virtually all security and personnel matters to the unbounded ambitions of Mr. McLeod. It is this unconcern for administrative detail, and the consequent deprivations committed on the Department in the name of security, that may plunge Mr. Dulles into trouble.

The Senate Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service has had Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young on the carpet in an effort to pierce the fog surrounding the reports of security-risk firings. Several Senators are reported to be infuriated at the acquiescence of the Civil Service Commission to the demands of McLeod. They consider the legality of the action questionable and hint at undue political pressures exerted by some of McLeod's friends in the Senate.

As far as can be determined, the Civil Service Commission's action on this matter is unprecedented. Security personnel in the Commission itself, as well as in other agencies, come within the classified civil service. Although outside civil service, the FBI and the CIA are subject to even stiffer personnel standards and qualifications determine one's loyalty or security status.

The Senators are further reported to be deeply concerned at the state of security in the State Department. Privately they describe it as non-existent, and they charge that McLeod's policies have destroyed what they were intended to fulfill. The word "fascistic" is being used by responsible and moderate-minded Senators to characterize the Department's security system.

THE angry Senators have a catalog of complaints: the monitoring of Foreign Service Institute courses by note-taking security officers, the excessively tight restrictions surrounding guest-lecturers at the Institute, and the systematic inquiry into the personal political opinions of foreign service and departmental employees —on such points as their attitude toward this country's China policy under the Truman Administration—with the implication that political "attitudes" on such questions determine one's loyalty or security status.

Senators single out for particularly bitter criticism the increasingly prevalent use of lie-detector tests by the Security Office. They charge that security officers destroy whatever real usefulness lie-detectors might have by employing them in such a way as to intimidate

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certain employees into resigning. A variation of this technique involves informing an employee that his record contains serious, but unspecified, allegations, and offering not to prosecute security charges if the employee will agree to resign.

The newspapers in recent weeks reported the resignation of William D. Huskey, a veteran security officer with the State Department. In view of the methods in force in Mr. McLeod's Security Office, his charges that the State Department had become "permeated by fear and intimidation" take on added force—as do the confirming allegations offered in the now famous letter from the five former Ambassadors.

McLeod's career in the Department, aside from his recent check by Mr. Dulles, has consisted of a steady acquisition of power, for he apparently understands the truism that power comes only to those who use it and exercise it. His first move was to insist that security is inseparable from personnel; therefore he was handed jurisdiction over State's personnel machinery. In effect, he became at once prosecutor and judge. Next, his friend Senator McCarran, having lost his fight against the refugee bill, salvaged what he could by inserting a provision in the legislation entrusting McLeod with supervision of the program's security. McLeod has cooperated by staffing his part of the operation with people known to be unsympathetic with the ends of the legislation.

Finally, for some time before his recent setbacks, McLeod had been casting covetous glances toward communications, the largest division in the Department. Somehow or other, McLeod figured his access to cables, mail and the like was not as direct as it could be. Others, recognizing the comprehensive nature of the Security Office's jurisdiction—which covers the entire Department—rather understandably wondered where this was all going to end.

In the face of these ambitious efforts, the possibilities inherent in McLeod's newly-won powers to hire and fire security personnel are reminiscent of the self-defeating policies followed earlier by State and more recently by the Army. Both these cases pointed up the truth that resistance to excessive encroachments by Congressional groups cannot be successful if at the same time conflicting policies encourage subordinate officials to carry on clandestine relationships with these Congressional groups. In the Army's case, for example, its Fort Monmouth difficulties were caused largely by the Army's premature disclosure of its own investigatory efforts, a mistake which served only to lure the Senate Investigating Subcommittee into its series of explosive, though utterly groundless, "revelations." The State Department's earlier trouble, on the nomination of Charles E. Bohlen as Ambassador to Moscow, stemmed from McLeod's close affiliations with Senators Bridges, McCarthy and McCarran. To a large extent the bitter-end battle waged against the Bohlen appointment by the three Senators was based on unevaluated and hearsay information from Bohlen's files, information which later could not stand serious scrutiny by men like Senator Taft. This material was widely believed to have been supplied by McLeod. Senator Bridges' office, for instance, boasted far in advance of the floor battle that it had more than fifty "cases" against Bohlen. Where, but from McLeod, could such organized information have come?

So the matter stands at this writing. The only conclusion observers here are currently willing to offer is that the war for control of the State Department is not over yet by a long shot.

THE STAGE

ONDINE

THE experience of Jean Giraudoux's fantasy, lately mounted by the Playwright Company, leaves so cloudy a residue of ambiguity in the mind that I am conscious of a certain impertinence in attempting an estimate without further knowledge. The piece would seem to be an allegory of the nature of love; its skeleton is the legend of the Rhine maiden who chooses mortality, and upon that theme are strung sumptuous embellishments by what was possibly the most eloquent lyrical imagination of the contemporary French theater. Giraudoux was a dramatist of great spaciousness and refinement of mind; his work is silvered over with a deep and durable charm; he is a master at forcing wit to bear the burden of tragedy. He excels, specially, in the tender evocation of sentiment: remembered innocence is his theme, its fate at the hands of a punishing reality his substance. Much of "Ondine" is richly veined with this gold of sensibility, but somehow its luster cannot lighten the whole play. Bright and luminous in the first act, it goes astray in the desperate artifice of the second, only to emerge at the last with an opaque and burnished density of human thought. But the illumination is all peripheral: however great the quantity of felt emotion in the experience, the amount of felt and observed life to sustain it sadly diminishes. I record these opinions tentatively, aware that an investigation of the text (not yet available) may disclose a thread of unity.

Of the production one may speak with more authority. Mr. Alfred Lunt's staging does not sift out the play's impurities, but rather exposes them to strong disadvantage. It has a kind of conventional chic, but no positive style: unwilling to push the work to the extremities of either reality or fantasy, Mr. Lunt has arranged a marriage of convenience which pleases neither party. One is conscious of a want of spirit and finesse, the lack of

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which gives the second act proceedings a wilful and dilatory air. Nor is the physical production distinguished. For Louis Jouvet's Paris revival of some year ago, Tchelitchew did the decor: sometimes competent, often inadequate, the present production—in the disporting of ondines arrayed in rather strategic seaweed—touches vulgarity. An oddly graceless cast—but for two antic and grotesque clowns in the trial scene, and Anne Meacham's fine shaping of a small role—does not enhance the play. Only in Virgil Thomson's lovely incidental music does the intended harmony of the work seem to reverberate.

On Audrey Hepburn and Mel Ferrer fall, of course, the evening's heaviest burdens. Mr. Ferrer does not, in sad fact, bring it off. An intelligent, grave, responsible actor, he lacks entirely extravagance of temperament: capable of admirable exhibition elsewhere, his talent shows here to severe disadvantage. Miss Hepburn is the play's vital center, energizing its sluggish currents with the impact of her piquant beauty and personality. She has been much praised, too much indeed, and the praise is largely for her personal quality which has not yet become a commodity. It cannot be presumptuous then, in the nature of a corrective, to observe that she is not yet a very accomplished actress, that she must learn to manipulate her voice with some of the grace and variety she brings to her body movements, and that there are shoals and reaches of dramatic sensibility she has not begun to sound. She is gifted, vivacious, intelligent: but it would be tragic if she were to become identified with these coltish, undisciplined roles—creations which spring, incidentally, largely from the warm and romantic imaginations of middle-aged gentlemen rather than from any specific actual contact with the real right thing. (*At the 46th Street Theater.*)

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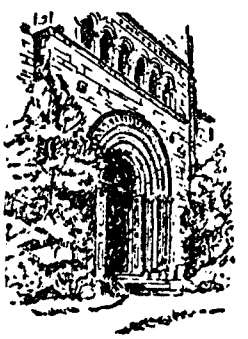

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THE SCREEN

IN THE FORESTS OF THE NIGHT

THE people referred to in the title of "Night People" are the Russians in the East Zone of Berlin who usually carry on their insidious business in the dark of the night. Moviegoers who saw "The Man Between," an English film made in Berlin, will be prepared for all the spying, counterspying and tricky machinations that go on in "Night People," an American film also made in Berlin, which doesn't have any better individual scenes than "The Man Between" but is much better motivated and plotted.

"Night People" starts with the abducting of a young American soldier from the West to the East Zone of Berlin. This scene actually takes place before the title and credits are thrown on the screen (an introductory device that movies are using frequently these days to set a mood). The film's second beginning shows the boy's father, a multi-millionaire in Toledo, Ohio, using his influence with Washington big shots to get his boy back. He then flies to Berlin to throw his weight around with the State Department there, force the Army into action and have his boy returned without further delay. But the colonel (Gregory Peck at his smooth best) who is handling the case effectively puts the indignant father in his place. Broderick Crawford gives such a good performance in this father role that he almost becomes the personification of the big tycoon who discovers his impotence when his money cannot be used in a situation. But the Russians and not Big Money are the enemy in this picture.

On the surface "Night People" can be taken as an exciting melodrama with handsome shots of Berlin in CinemaScope and Technicolor. But audiences will come away realizing what a formidable foe the Communists are and what skill and patience are needed in dealing

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with them. Seldom in the films are ethical problems handled as effectively as they are here.

Nunnally Johnson, who wrote the screenplay from a story by Jed Harris and Thomas Reed, also produced the picture and directed its large cast which includes Rita Gam, Walter Abel, Anita Bjork and Buddy Ebsen.

RENE Clair's new film "Beauties of the Night" may not be top-drawer Clair, but it has some wonderful satire and it is chock full of the kind of zany slapstick for which this great French director is famous. It has a Miniver Cheevy kind of story about a young musician who is in love with the past and goes back in his dreams to 1900, 1830 and the French Revolution. And why not—considering the beauties he meets in his adventures. He learns at the end, of course, that the present has a few nice things to offer, too—but then he has a little problem of keeping awake.

Clair has a merry romp through the ages. Gerard Philipe plays the musician with great charm and a pleasing touch of absurdity; and Raymond Bussieres is excellent as his loyal friend, a garage mechanic who doesn't quite understand what Gerard is up to but who respects his talents. Martine Carol, Gina Lollobrigida and Magali Vendeuil are among the beauties who brighten Gerard's dreams.

Although "Beauties of the Night" gets a little long and doesn't seem quite as funny at times as it should be (I suspect a little of the fun is lost in the English subtitles) it is still a pleasantly stimulating film.

IF you prefer to have your movies on the grim side, "Salt of the Earth," a film made by Independent Productions Corp., and International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, will qualify. Using some very effective photography, the picture tells the story of a strike in a mining community in New Mexico where the Mexican-American workers get quite a pushing around from the sheriff and his boys as well as the company representatives.

Director Herbert J. Biberman would have strengthened his film if he had shortened many of the scenes as well as the whole. The need for better working conditions is well established, but each point is made so often that it loses effect. The mine owners and the local law may be as brutal to the workers as the film portrays, but at times their villainy is so melodramatic it belongs to the old hiss-the-bad-men school and seems strangely out of place in a movie that is on the whole quite moving in its plodding sincerity and realism. Many of the [illegible] professional actors who lack Hollywood polish, but Rosaura Revueltas in the lead gives a very stirring performance.

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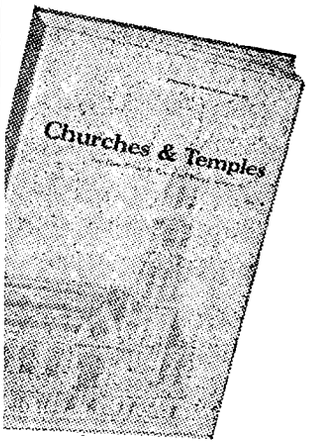

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MOSCOW. By Theodor Plievier. Doubleday. $3.95.

By JOHN A. LYNCH

THE stab in the back, the attack on Russia that began in June 1941 with "one long wall of fire" from the Baltic to the Black Sea ("This war certainly won't be according to the rules, or an easy one either."), and the following winter came to a bloody halt short of Moscow, by which time both the German and the Russian armies were heavily decimated and bodies lay everywhere in the sub-zero cold, is covered here in what must be one of the most thoughtful and most successful novels to come out of the last world war. Certainly it stands above anything yet produced in this country and, by comparison, makes the tough and profane stories of some American veterans seem to have been written about battles that were never analyzed and men who were never understood.

With a mixture of fact and fiction that ranges from Sergeant Riederheim to General Bomelbuerg on the one hand and from Sergeant Subkov to General Narishkin on the other, from the front at Brest-Litovsk to the front at Duenaberg, from present to past to present, from infantry to armor to NKVD and back again, author Plievier draws a striking panorama of armies on the move, alternately attacking and defending, both at times retreating, both suffering hugely, both destroying wantonly, both immensely cruel, fighting to an eventual standstill in the snow.

In the "Double Battle of Bialystok and Minsk," on the road to Moscow, the author tells us, seven hundred thousand Russians fell or were captured. In a war of this magnitude there is too much to tell; it cannot all be got into one book. Yet Theodor Plievier, who is also the author of *Stalingrad,* and of a forthcoming book to be entitled *Berlin,* has accomplished much in the way of getting a war, a total war, on paper. The chaos, the stupidity, the restlessness, the depravity, the hunger and fear and dread of fire that surrounds, impels, governs and otherwise drives the troops forward, and in its own turn causes them to flee—for they seldom move as individuals, but mostly in a mass—is shrilly caught in image after image.

There is the grand picture, and then the picture of one lone man in a dugout. There are the horses dying on the road, the army general being executed by the NKVD, Lieutenant Colonel Vilshofen and Captain Uralov, Anna Pavlovna, the general's cook, and Molotov, "dabbing at his brow with a silk handkerchief."

There are the Rivers Bug, Dnieper, Ugra, Protva and Nara. There are the men "given a special issue of vodka and sent forward in waves to clear a path," and a panzer division that "spaced out at the regulation interval would cover more than a hundred miles" "a caterpillar on wheels and tracks," men "barefoot and dusty, with soles worn away."

It is all here, it is all the army, it is all war. Armies do not change, perhaps, nor do wars. Would napalm or an atomic cannon have made this one any worse?

At the beginning of the book Sergeant Major Lemke remarks: "So now we have another war!" They had prepared for England and they had got Russia. It was all the same. At the end only three or four had learned anything: "The old man, the girl from Minsk, and the man with the red face." They took Lieutenant Colonel Vilshofen and they released him and sent him back to his own, and "beneath the pall of smoke . . . he had seen light."

Conversion Story

BEFORE THE DAWN. By Eugenio Zolli. Sheed & Ward. $3.25.

By LEO R. WARD

WHEN the chief rabbi of Rome entered the Catholic Church in 1945, the event naturally caused a stir. Some thought he was unfaithful to his people, with whom

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and for whom he had feared and suffered, and many thought that his conversion was due to the charity of Pius XII toward the Jews.

His autobiography, which is written humbly and simply, shows that each of those notions was false. He belonged heart and soul to his people, and he still does. He is a man who gives himself generously to people, and his first and deepest love is for the Jews. Under the influence of the love of Christ, he was well on his way to conversion long before he encountered the wonderful charity of Pius XII.

Far more than the author guesses, this book amounts to a case study in an old theory of the relations between knowledge and love. One theory is that nothing is loved till known. Another theory, well exemplified here, is that love can influence and even determine knowledge. Because a man lives in a certain way, truths become congenial and "connatural" to him. Aristotle is full of that view, and Saint John says that he who does the truth comes to the light. (We await studies in history and social psychology to see whether a whole people, by the way it lives, becomes enlightened or becomes muddled.)

Eugenio Zolli was a man who wanted to love all, and from the first tended to love all. "And I yearned for a knowledge of the Lord, a knowledge through love." It could not occur to this man that there should be a great gap between Hebraism and Christianity. The two ought to complement one another. "For many years I had been able to unite Hebraism and Christianity —or was this an illusion? is the idea absurd?—because I loved both. What else could I do?"

We would like to see Dr. Zolli and his publishers work together on another book. This book would be on how he has seen and continues to see the Church—how he saw the Church in his boyhood days in Austria, then in his days as rabbi in Trieste, then in Fascist Italy, then in post-war, Communist-ridden Italy, and lastly in America. In conversation, he has been very interesting on America's place in the future of the Church.

Down South

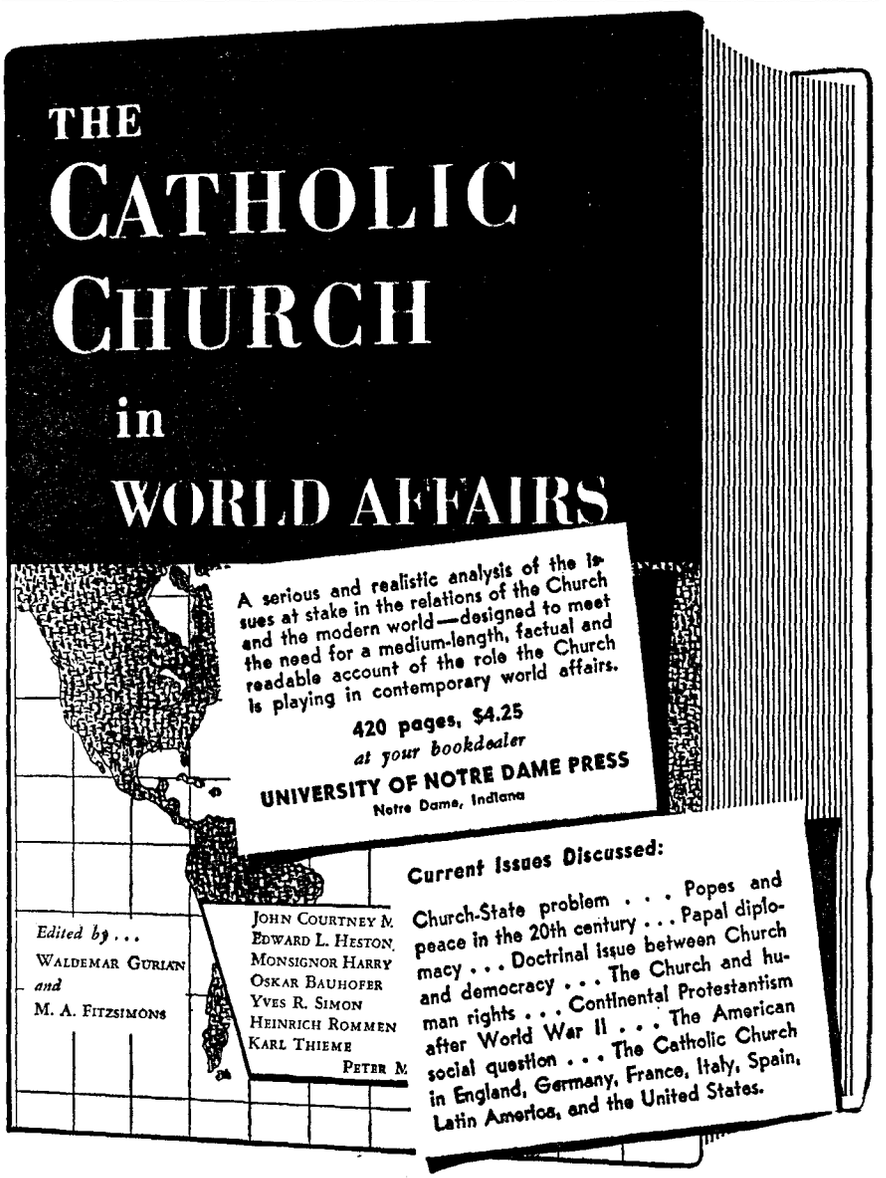
THE UNTIDY PILGRIM. By Eugene Walter. Lippincott. $3.50.

By GERALD WEALES

THE untidy pilgrim that provides the title to Eugene Walter's novel is, according to the epigraph, the human heart. The heart in question belongs to the narrator-hero, a young man without a name; its pilgrimage is one to self-discovery. The primary value of the novel does not lie in this journey —unfortunately perhaps—but in the human landscape through which the pilgrim passes.

The hero comes down from the cotton country to live and work in Mobile; here he meets a group of characters, in the current relaxed meaning of the word. Most of them —the poetic young man with ines capable Southern charm, the grand and decaying old lady, the slightly eccentric relatives, the devouring female animal—are the stock-in-trade of Southern novels. Of them, only Miss Fiffey, the old lady, manages to achieve a personality that divorces her from her literary sisters; she does so largely because the author has managed to give her wit, which he and she sometimes confuse with wisdom.

The narrator is not the usual over-sensitive, over-articulate Southern-novel hero. That is a mark in his favor. He appears to react to situations and ideas with a fresh-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ness that is born of the union of common sense with a transient irrationality. "Appears to" is the exact phrase here, though, for as the novel progresses we are given only appearances; the character of the narrator is never revealed. His journey apparently is a sexual or emotional more than it is a spiritual or intellectual one.

This is a first novel and often an interesting one. If Eugene Walter's purpose is to entertain, he has achieved it within limits. If, however, we are to take seriously the opening and closing statements, those that indicate that a personal journey is to be made and, then, that it has been, it must be said that the only evidence for the journey lies in the narrator's statement that he has been on it. The reader never goes with him. If there is self-revelation, it remains interior; the character of the narrator is such that he cannot make the revelation public, nor would he be expected to. But some clear indication should be made in dramatic terms and its absence is the novel's chief defect.

THE FUTURE OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. By Eugene Staley. Harper. $5.

SHIRT-SLEEVE DIPLOMACY. By Jonathan B. Bingham. John Day. $4.

THE basic assumption of the first of these timely volumes is that the free world and the Soviet system are locked in a mortal struggle in the world's underdeveloped lands. For these countries, with their strategic location, manpower, raw materials and vast potential wealth are the most vulnerable of all to Communist conquest. They constitute the key to domination of the world.

And while the United States stands by hesitant, or enters on the scene halfheartedly (preoccupied with domestic political clamors), Communist agents carry out Soviet orders in many lands with tenacity and skill. They make the most of the feeling of resentful peoples that any new system would be preferable to their present wretched serfdom and lack of status. Mr. Staley's prescriptions for American policy are hardly novel but his illuminating diagnosis of the Communist stakes, aims and methods in these areas deserves the weightiest consideration in Washington.

The Bingham volume has a smaller compass. It explains, largely by examples, what Point IV techniques can accomplish in these now-underproductive lands. It sets up priorities, indicates practical limitations and, in general, shows how the return from a modest investment of capital and trained personnel is manifold. The author knows from first-hand experience whereof he speaks; he supplies a graphically dynamic answer to the Communist challenge in the underdeveloped lands—if only we do not delay in undertaking such activities on a major scale.

E.S.S.

REVIEWERS

John A. Lynch is a short-story writer who contributes frequent reviews to The Commonweal.

Father Leo R. Ward, C.S.C., teaches Philosophy at the University of Notre Dame.

Gerald Weales writes for the *Hudson Review*, *New Mexico Quarterly* and other literary publications.

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Personal

During the past few months Commonweal editors have participated in a number of extra-curricular activities. Here is a partial list.

Editor Edward S. Skillin gave a talk on the interracial question at the headquarters of the Catholic Worker. A few weeks later he presented a Citation to Jacques Maritain on behalf of the Notre Dame Club of Northern New Jersey.

Executive Editor John Cogley spoke at the Midwest Regional meeting of the Catholic Press Association and gave a formal lecture at Notre Dame University just before leaving for the Holy Land. Along with Harold Fey of the *Christian Century* and Rabbi Morris Lazaron of the *Jewish Newsletter* he reported on his trip to the Middle East, at meetings held in Washington and Chicago and spoke on the same subject before the Overseas Press Club in New York and at a luncheon meeting during the annual convention of the American Friends of the Middle East in New York.

During the past semester Managing Editor James O'Gara taught four courses at Fordham, filling in for a professor of sociology who was doing special studies in Europe. Mr. O'Gara also addressed a regional gathering of CIO officers, an Eastern Catholic Press Association meeting, and the combined Newman Clubs of Hofstra and Adelphi colleges.

Assistant Editor William Pfaff spoke before the student body of Marymount College on the general subject of the Catholic's responsibilities as a citizen and later returned to participate in a panel of journalists on the influence of the press on public opinion. William Clancy, Assistant Editor, addressed groups at Manhattan College and recently returned from a short speaking tour in the Eastern states during which he participated in several public discussions of the UN.

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Momentum

Spring is not the best time for magazine subscription promotion; summer is impossible; fall and the Christmas season are the bright times of year for building circulation.

But The Commonweal has begun its momentous 30th Anniversary Campaign in the spring, will carry it on throughout the summer, and climax it in the fall—and no matter how big the fall-Christmas climax will be, it cannot by itself produce all of the eight thousand new long-term subscriptions the magazine needs to reach its goal of thirty thousand circulation (which will assure its future and extend its influence on the American political and cultural scene).

So the momentum must be gained now, in the slackening spring, and must be maintained through the impossible summer. We urge you to act now to join in The Commonweal's 30th Anniversary Drive. Obtain subscriptions from your friends. Send gift subscriptions to the special people you know will appreciate The Commonweal. We have lists of libraries and information centers from which we can designate gift subscriptions for you. But act now. We need the momentum.

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